

THE BEMINISCENCES OF CARL SCHURZ shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State; (3) that no person who had taken part in the rebellion, having previously as a National or State officer, military or civil, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or any State, unless relieved of that disability by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress; (4) that the validity of the public debt of the United States shall not be questioned, nor shall any debt or obligation contracted in aid of rebellion, or any claim for emancipated slaves be paid.

Thus the Fourteenth Amendment stopped short of the extension of the suffrage to negroes—a subject which many Republicans were still afraid to touch directly. But by implication it punished the States denying that extension by reducing the basis of representation; it excluded from office, unless relieved of the disability by a two-thirds vote of Congress, the most influential class of those who had taken an active part in the rebellion, and it safeguarded the public debt. With only one of its provisions serious fault could be found. Not with that which guaranteed to the freedmen the essential civil rights of free men, nor with that which excluded the freedmen from the basis of representation—so long as they were

not permitted
to vote, for in that case it would have been unfair
to make them
serve to augment the political power of others.
Only the advocates of negro suffrage might logically have
objected to this
clause, inasmuch as it by implication recognized
the right of
a State to exclude the colored people from the
suffrage if the
State paid a certain penalty for such exclusion.
Neither could
the clause safeguarding the public debt and
prohibiting the